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### C.W. Rice - Labor Leader

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C. W. RICE---LABOR LEADER

By

Hobart T. Taylor, Jr.

A Thesis in Economics Submitted in Partial  
Fulfillment of the Requirement  
for the

Degree of

Bachelor of Arts

in the

Division of Arts and Sciences

of the

Prairie View State Normal and Industrial College

Prairie View, Texas

May, 1929



## D E D I C A T I O N

To my mother and father who have  
made possible the partial realization  
of a dream.



## P R E F A C E

More and more, men are beginning to realize their interdependence, to become cognizant of the fact that the welfare of any individual depends upon the welfare of the group--and that the prosperity of any specific group is, in like measure contingent upon the prosperity of all humanity.

For this reason, it is intriguing to observe a man occupying the position of leader espousing an opposite philosophy.

It is in order to study the reasons for this stand and to clarify his position that this study is made.

The writer wishes to express his appreciation to Mr. C. W. Rice of Houston for allowing him to investigate the files of the Negro Labor News and also for other valuable information given him. He further wishes to thank Mr. R. W. Hilliard, Professor of Sociology and Personnel Director at Prairie View, who made possible the peace and solitude which the writer finds to be of immense value in a study of this type.

Finally, the writer desires to express his deep gratitude and appreciation to Mr. S. E. Warren, Head of the Social Science Department at Prairie View for his searching criticisms and invaluable suggestions and to Mr. A. Edward Hollins, a fellow student, for his encouragement and friendly criticism. Without the assistance and inspiration these two persons, this study would still be in the visionary stage.

H. T. T.



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## INTRODUCTION

A. Purpose of This Study

Since the Civil War, the Negro has been an increasingly important factor in industrial relations. After a short period of aggressive unionism, (1866-1886) his brief and localized sphere of activities disappeared with the ascendancy of the American Federation of Labor and he began to occupy the role of a substandard worker, which is still largely his position.<sup>1</sup>

During the last twenty years, however, Negro leadership in the field of labor has developed. Some of it has been aggressive and enterprising, other portions hesitant, conservative and formed on a basis of expediency.

The subject of this thesis falls in one of these categories or in an adaptation of them. It thus becomes the purpose of this treatise to study minutely the role and activities of C. W. Rice and thereby to arrive at an evaluation of his leadership.

B. Method Used in This Study

The methods used in this study fall into two general groups--the conference method and the fact-finding method.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Cf. Charles Wesley, Negro Labor in the United States, p. 43.

2. For explanation of these methods, A. Edward Hollins, A Critical Appraisal of the Theses written in the Social Science Department. Chapter I.



Under the first method, the author includes a series of conferences with his adviser during which the writer secured references essential to this exposition, and interviews with R. J. Landgrebe, president of the white longshoremen's local at Houston, J. W. Constant, business agent of the Negro longshoreman's local, and various members of the Texas Negro Business and Laboring Mens Association. These conferences and interviews proved extremely valuable in the collection of material and the criticism of sources. The writer's adviser further suggested certain devices such as maps, charts, and photographs for purposes of illustrating and clarifying materials.

In his use of the fact finding method, the author would like to list interviews with Mr. C. W. Rice, president of the Texas Negro Business and Working Men's Association; Miss Octavia Chapin, Miss Sedenia Gray, and Mr. Cottrell Bishop, members of Mr. Rice's office force; members and officials of the Houston Trade Council, and members of the Texas Negro Business and Working Men's Association.

In this classification the author also lists the examination of the files of the Negro Labor News and a partial examinations of documents of the T. N. B. and W. M. A.

By these means was material gathered for this study. While the writer realizes the obvious limitations of such procedures, he does believe that they are adequate to indicate definite trends and to serve as a basis for portraying the role of a



local labor leader.

### C. Scope and Limitations

The scope of this thesis is limited by three general factors, chronology, geography, and the number of people concerned.

The subject of this study began his career as a labor leader in 1921. For this reason, any evaluation of him in this capacity must confine itself to his actions and policies during the last eighteen years.

Furthermore, his activities have been almost wholly in the southwest. This is a limit which cannot be ignored. The author does accept, however, the responsibility of showing his (Rice's) position in the national industrial picture, for it is fully realized that the subject does not exist in a vacuum, but in a moving, acting society.

Finally, the scope of this thesis is automatically limited by the 43,000 Negro industrial laborers of Texas, by the three thousand persons who read each copy of the subjects newspaper, (Estimate by Mr. Rice) and by the 800 members of the Texas Negro Business and Workingman's Association.

### D. General Historical Background

It is now a generally recognized fact that previous influences and movements play an important role in shaping a mans career.

This is especially true in the field of labor phenomena



because industrial relations are usually the result of social customs, environmental attitudes and prior conditioning. For this reason, the writer considers it necessary to give a brief history of the labor movement and of labor conditions previous to Mr. Rice's emergence as a labor leader.

1. Brief Survey of the American Labor Movement Since the Civil War.<sup>3</sup>

So long as the United States remained primarily an agricultural country in which most of the workers were independent farm owners, the number of persons working for wages remained small.<sup>4</sup>

After 1860, however, the development of manufacturing the growth of large-scale production, the use of automatic machinery, the concentration of industry, the immigration of large numbers of unskilled impoverished workers and the emancipation of the Negro slaves all tended to produce a wage earning class.

a. National Labor Union, 1866-1872

It was not long before an attempt was made to organize these workers on a national basis. In 1866, the National Labor Union was founded under the leadership of W. H. Sylvis. After enjoying temporary success due to its espousal of the eight hour day, it entered politics to support the greenback movement, a decision which led to its final disintegration

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3. See John R. Commons, History of Labor in the United States, passim. Also Carrol Daugherty, Labor Problems in American Industry, pp. 324-349.

4. Ernest Bogart, Economic History of the American People, p. 588.



in 1872.

b. Knights of Labor, 1869-1894

At the same time, however, another attempt was being made to fuse all laborers into a common movement. This was the Knights of Labor, organized in 1869 as a secret society by Uriah S. Stevens, a Philadelphia garment cutter.

Due to its high ideals, its unprejudiced attitudes and its humanitarian policies, it grew rapidly and in 1886, it was "the most imposing labor organization this country has ever known."<sup>5</sup> It had established approximately one thousand cooperative enterprises over the country; it had won several railroad strikes, notably one against Jay Gould, the financier; and its membership was estimated at 700,000. In that same year, it embarked upon another series of strikes in an attempt to gain the eight hour day. Due to the failure of these strikes and to subsequent entanglement in politics, the Knights declined rapidly and by 1894 had ceased to be of importance in the labor world.

c. American Federation of Labor, 1896--

As it lost in power and numbers, its place was taken by the American Federation of Labor which was founded in 1886 by Samuel Gompers and Adolph Strasser of the Cigar Makers Union and other malcontents who had become dissatisfied with the idealism and centralized unionism of the Knights of

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5. Bogart, Economic History of the American People, p. 593.



Labor.<sup>6</sup> While its platform did not differ much from that of the Knights its basis of organization was essentially different. Whereas the government of the earlier organization was highly centralized and the order itself was composed of district assemblies with little local autonomy, into which both skilled and unskilled workers in any trade were admitted, the Federation was its antithesis on both these points. It was a "confederation of trade and labor unions" each trade being organized separately and the unions alone being represented in the national body.<sup>7</sup> Great care was taken not to interfere with the local autonomy of the constituent unions, only matters of general interest coming before the national body. Under the leadership of Gompers, it grew steadily in influence and in 1916 was the most powerful labor organization in the United States. At that time the membership was approximately 2,070,000. In 1937, the membership was 3,269,000.<sup>8</sup>

## 2. The Negro in American Labor History.

### a. The Negro in the National Labor Union

The first attempt of Negroes to organize as a Negro union was in January, 1869, when the National Convention was held in Washington, D. C. Its attendance of approximately 130 consisted largely of ministers and politicians nearly all

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6. Cf. Daugherty, Labor Problems in American Industry, p. 331.

7. See Lorwin, The American Federation of Labor, p. 142.

8. Cf. Daugherty, Labor Problems in American Industry, p. 258.



from the northern and border states. Naturally a meeting of such composition would be largely political in nature--and this one was. "Equal political rights, education, and free land for freedmen formed the topics of discussion. Full confidence was declared in the Republican party, but provision was made for a national committee to be composed of one from each state and territory and for subordinate state committees to take general charge of the interests of the colored people.<sup>9</sup>" The question of relations with white labor was ignored.

Out of this meeting grew the first colored state labor convention. It was held in Baltimore, Md. in July, 1869. It appointed a committee to report at another state convention to be held two weeks thereafter. This report recognized the power of race prejudice and discrimination in industry and advised that Negroes organize thoroughly in order to meet this menace to their well being. This convention also appointed five delegates to the Philadelphia convention of the National Labor Union to be held August 16-23, 1869.

"The purpose of the convention, as stated in the call, was to consolidate the coloured workingmen of the several states to act in cooperation with our white fellow workingmen in every state and territory in the union, who are opposed to the distinction in the apprenticeship laws on account of

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9. Commons and Associates, History of Labour in the United States, Vol. II, p. 136.



color and to act cooperatively until the necessity for separate organization shall be deemed unnecessary.<sup>10</sup>

The politicians again leaped into the limelight. Langston of Ohio warned the Negro delegates against the white delegates from Massachusetts whom he accused of being emissaries of the Democratic party. The major topics were education and land; Congress being petitioned to pass a special homestead act for southern Negroes.

The most important outgrowth of the convention, however, was the creation of a colored national labor union with the caulker from Baltimore, Isaac Myers, as president. This union immediately adopted a platform omitting such controversial matters as taxation of government bonds, taxation of the rich for military purposes and restoration of civil rights to southerners. It did, however, declare for the eight hour day and it placed strong emphasis in a demand of equal rights for white and black workers with regard to job opportunity.

Meanwhile the opposition to Negro laborers was increasing. The bricklayers union in Washington, D. C. forbade their men to work alongside colored labor. Four white men were discovered working with some Negroes on a government job and they were expelled from the union. A Negro printer, Lewis H. Douglass, was denied admission to the local union in Washington, D. C. in 1869 for four reasons, the last of which according to the Washington Daily Morning Chronicle of June



19, 1869 was that he was a colored man.<sup>11</sup> This refusal was made in spite of the fact that the constitution of the union made no discrimination against Negro labor.

b. The Negro in the Knights of Labor

Because of actions such as these, the influence of the National Labor Union began to wane among Negroes. In its place came the Knights of Labor which allowed no discrimination against Negro against Negro labor.

c. The Negro in the American Federation of Labor

With the decline of the Knights of Labor for reasons previously mentioned in this treatise, the American Federation of labor entered the scene, at first, it too practiced the liberal policy of the Knight, but as time progressed, this became more or less lip-service in nature even though the International Association of Machinists was suspended for several years because of its refusal to admit Negro laborers. The discrimination of the local unions, however, soon proved an overwhelming obstacle, and it soon became the accepted policy to close the union door in the face of the black workman.<sup>12</sup>

In 1914 came the World War and its demand for a greatly increased production. The acute shortage of laborers then existing caused a great change in the position of the color-

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11. Cf. Spero and Harris, The Black Worker, p. 20.

12. See Spero and Harris, The Black Worker, p. 140-193.

Charles Wesley, History of Negro Labor in the United States, passim.



# Negro Workers In The Main Occupational Groups by Sex, 1890-1930<sup>13</sup>

Number of Gainfully Employed Negroes	1890	1900	1910	1920	1930
Total	2,073,164	3,992,367	5,192,535	4,824,151	5,503,535
Male	2,101,279	2,675,497	3,178,554	3,252,862	3,662,893
Female	971,785	1,316,840	2,013,981	1,571,289	1,840,642
Percentage total of all gainful workers in country	13.5	13.7	13.6	11.6	11.3
Percentage Negro population (including, -aged and over)	57.7	62.2	71.0	59.9	59.2
Total, of total Negro Population	86.3	84.1	87.4	81.1	80.2
Male, of male Negro Population	39.0	40.7	54.7	38.9	38.9
Female, of female Negro population	56.2	53.7	55.7	45.2	36.1
Percentage of all Negro employees in Agriculture, Total, of total Negro employees	62.0	58.5	58.0	48.1	40.7
Male, of male employees	43.8	44.2	52.3	39.0	26.9
Female, of female Negro employees					

(This chart is continued on next page)



Negro Workers in The Main Occupational Groups by Sex, 1890-1930  
(Continued from preceding page)

Year	1890	1900	1910	1920	1930
Manufacturing and Mechanical, percentage. Total, of total Negro employees	6.8	7.0	12.2	18.4	18.6
Male, of male Negro employees	7.0	7.7	17.7	24.0	25.2
Female, of female Negro employees	2.8	2.5	3.4	6.7	5.5
Transportation and Trade Percentage. Total, of total Negro employees	4.8	5.3	7.2	9.4	10.5
Male, of male Negro employees	6.8	7.7	11.6	13.5	15.5
Female, of female Negro employees	0.2	0.3	0.4	0.9	0.9
Domestic and Personal Service; Percentage. Total, of total Negro employees	31.1	33.0	26.1	22.1	28.6
Male, of male Negro employees	21.8	23.8	8.5	8.4	11.6
Female, of female Negro employees	52.0	51.8	45.4	50.3	62.6

TABLE 1



interest which was to color his policies and attitudes concerning labor tremendously.



## CHAPTER II

### INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE SECTIONS IN WHICH THE SUBJECT HAS LIVED

If we are to fully appreciate the career of C. W. Rice, we cannot afford to limit our industrial background to a study of labor movements, rather we must take into account the sweeping economic changes that occurred in all parts of the South and Southwest and affected profoundly the lives and philosophies of approximately forty million people.

#### A. The Old South Tennessee --

##### 1. Beginnings of Industrialism in the South

For two decades from 1860 to 1880, the South was submerged by war and its aftermath. "During the first decade, the estimated true value of all property in the section declined by nearly two billion dollars while that of the rest of the nation increased by 15½ billion dollars. During the second decade, the estimated true value of all property in the South increased by only 1 1/8 billion dollars over the census figures of 1870 while that in the rest of the nation increased by 26 1/3 billion dollars.<sup>1</sup>" In spite of such enormous losses, the economic development of the South after 1880 compares favorably with that of the entire United States.

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1. Cf. Emory Q. Hawk, *Economic History of the South*, pp.449-453







The " New South" dates from 1880, the year which roughly marks the end of the reconstruction period. In that year Southern leaders began a far-flung campaign of industrialism and publicised this program with the Atlanta Exposition of 1881, the North Carolina Industrial Exhibit of 1884, and the New Orleans Fair of 1894. As a result of such pressure, manufacturing was rapidly superimposed on the Southern agricultural economy.

Thus the period of the subject's early life was necessarily an era of flux, of sudden and violent change, of incredible paradox.

On one hand could be found the ignorant tenant farmer of Tennessee, Alabama, and the Carolinas living from hand to mouth only two or three miles from the great textile and steel mills which were speedily becoming a part of the South - a person overwhelmed by the grandeur of the thing around him and selling his labor sometimes by inclination, often by necessity, for a few cents a day that this "great modernization " might continue.

## 2. Conditions of Negroes in this Period - -

The Negro quite naturally was involved in this process. Though some members of the group had amassed a moderate amount of wealth, the great majority were still illiterate, superstitious farmers and laborers.

Hawk describes the condition of the Negro farmer of that time graphically. "The size of the Negro farm seldom



exceeded 30 acres and the organization of such farms was simple. The owner usually had a mule, a cow, a few hogs and some poultry, a ramshackle wagon, a plow and a few hoes, shovels and axes. The homes were unpainted two or three box-shaped structures made of boards nailed vertically to a frame and covered with clap boards, or, as in some regions of Georgia and Tennessee, the homes were old-fashioned log cabins with " stick and mud " <sup>2</sup> chimneys. "

Since both Negroes and whites received little more than a subsistence income from agriculture they eagerly turned to work in the mills as a substitute. This plentiful supply of cheap labor was to enable Southern manufacturing to compete successfully in long established industries in older centers. The mushroom growth of industry in Tennessee and the rest of the South may best be shown by the following chart which shows the tremendous upswing in Southern manufactures during the period 1880-1925.



GROWTH OF SOUTHERN MANUFACTURING 1880-1925<sup>3</sup>

	1880	1900	1925	% Change 1880-1900	% Change 1900-1925
Numbers of Establishment	53,248	113,984	37,238	114.0	-67.5
Capital	324,752,408	1,402,880,000	6,893,171,000	325.4	396.6
Persons Engaged	396,428	982,528	1,866,000	165.4	90.0
Value of Product	622,840,976	1,849,137,000	1,437,000,000	163.1	496.8
Value of Material	39,413,202	1,043,431,000	6,228,000,000	196.8	460.8
Wages (Total)	100,227,187	366,594,000	1,553,218,000	265.7	323.6

Table 2

This chart shows the immense change which was occurring at this time, a change which was to sweep the subject into the labor picture and make possible this study.

### 3. Interplay of Industrial and Agricultural Tendencies in the Old South.

This widespread prosperity and great expansion of industry was not destined to touch agriculture. The living standards of the majority of farmers remained low and in some communities actually decreased.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Emory Q. Hawk, Econ. Hist. of the South, p. 476.

<sup>4</sup> See Almon Parkins, The South - Its Economic-Geographic Development, p. 353.



The Progressive Farmer, published at Raleigh, North Carolina, succinctly described the situation at that time (1897) as follows:

"There is something wrong with our industrial system. There is a screw loose. The wheels have dropped out of balance. The railroads have never been so prosperous, and yet agriculture languishes. The banks have never done a better or more profitable business, and yet agriculture languishes. Towns and cities flourish and boom, and yet agriculture languishes."<sup>5</sup>

Thus it becomes clear that the superimposition of industry over agriculture did not lead to a perfectly harmonious situation. Though this disequilibrium was due largely to outside factors operating in outside markets upon which Southern farmers were dependent both as sellers and buyers of goods, there were also certain interval factors such as the periodical decline in property values, the lack of organization of the labor force, and the control of politics by urban centers which affected adversely the interests of this group.<sup>6</sup>

Meanwhile, this same process of industrialism was occurring in the southwest, the area of the subject's greatest activity. It therefore becomes necessary to

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5. Emory I. Hawk, Economic History of the South, p. 472.

6. Ibid., p. 483-486.



make a study of industrial conditions in that section in order to furnish an adequate background for his career.

B. Economic Conditions in the Southwest: Texas

1. Movements of population, 1910-1930--

The history of Texas industry has been largely the story, not of development of resources, but of frantic effort to find utilization of the resources which burst forth. Texas has needed above everything population to furnish a basis for a market through home consumption and next it has needed transportation to outside markets. The present density of population (23.1 per sq. mile) is only half that of the United States (42.5 per sq. mile), a condition which has affected tremendously the development of the resources of this state.

According to Yoakum, the population of Texas in 1744 was 1,500.<sup>7</sup> In 1847, this had grown to 135,000, of which 39,000 were slaves; and in 1880 to 1,591,749. In 1930, the population of Texas was 6,073,000 and Texas ranked sixth among the states in population.<sup>8</sup>

2. Agricultural and Industrial Trends

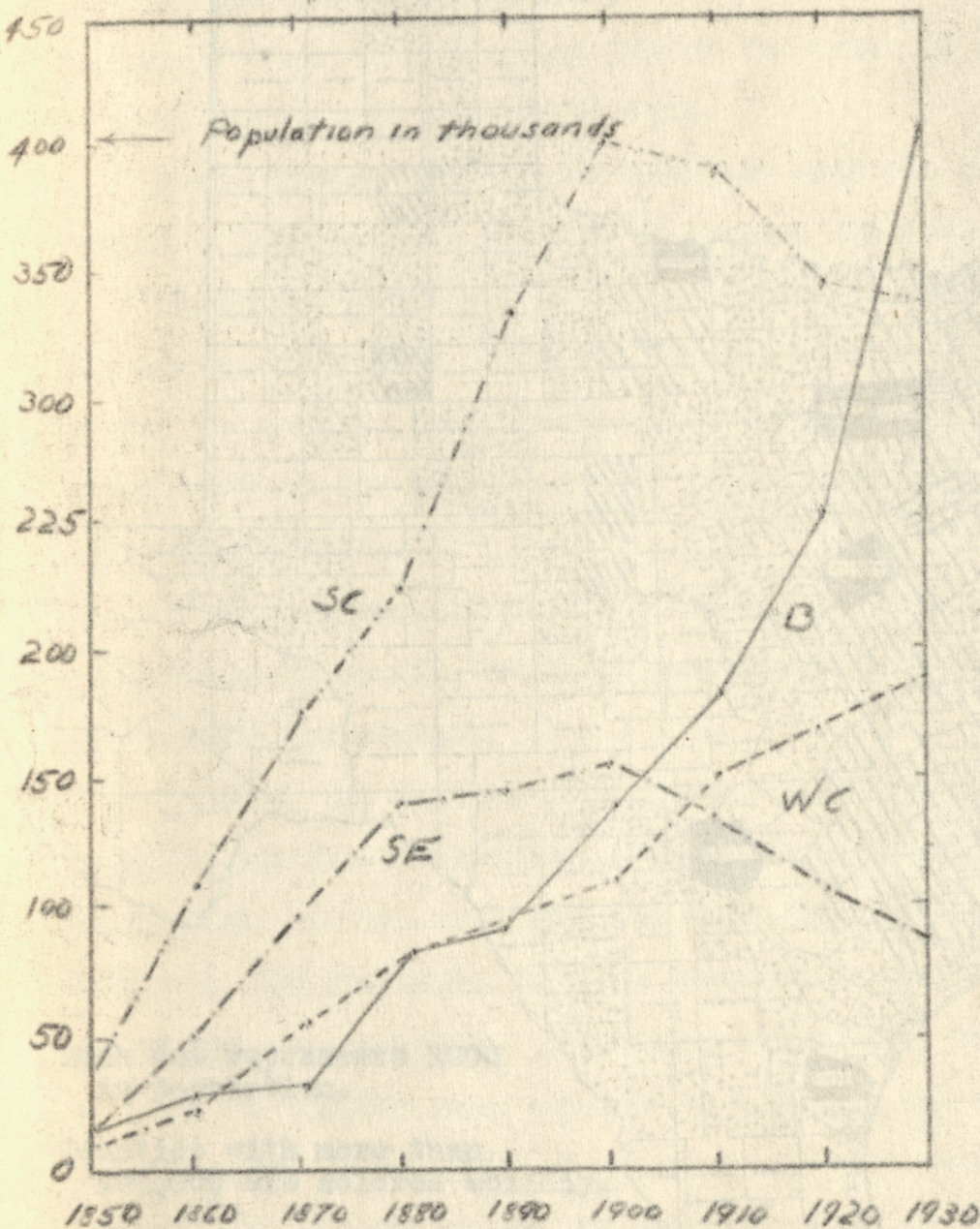
The most notable feature of the growth of the population of Texas during the last decade (1920-30) was

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7. Henderson Yoakum, History of Texas, p. 5.

8. See Texas Almanac, 1939, for more detailed discussion.





Origins of Texas Population.

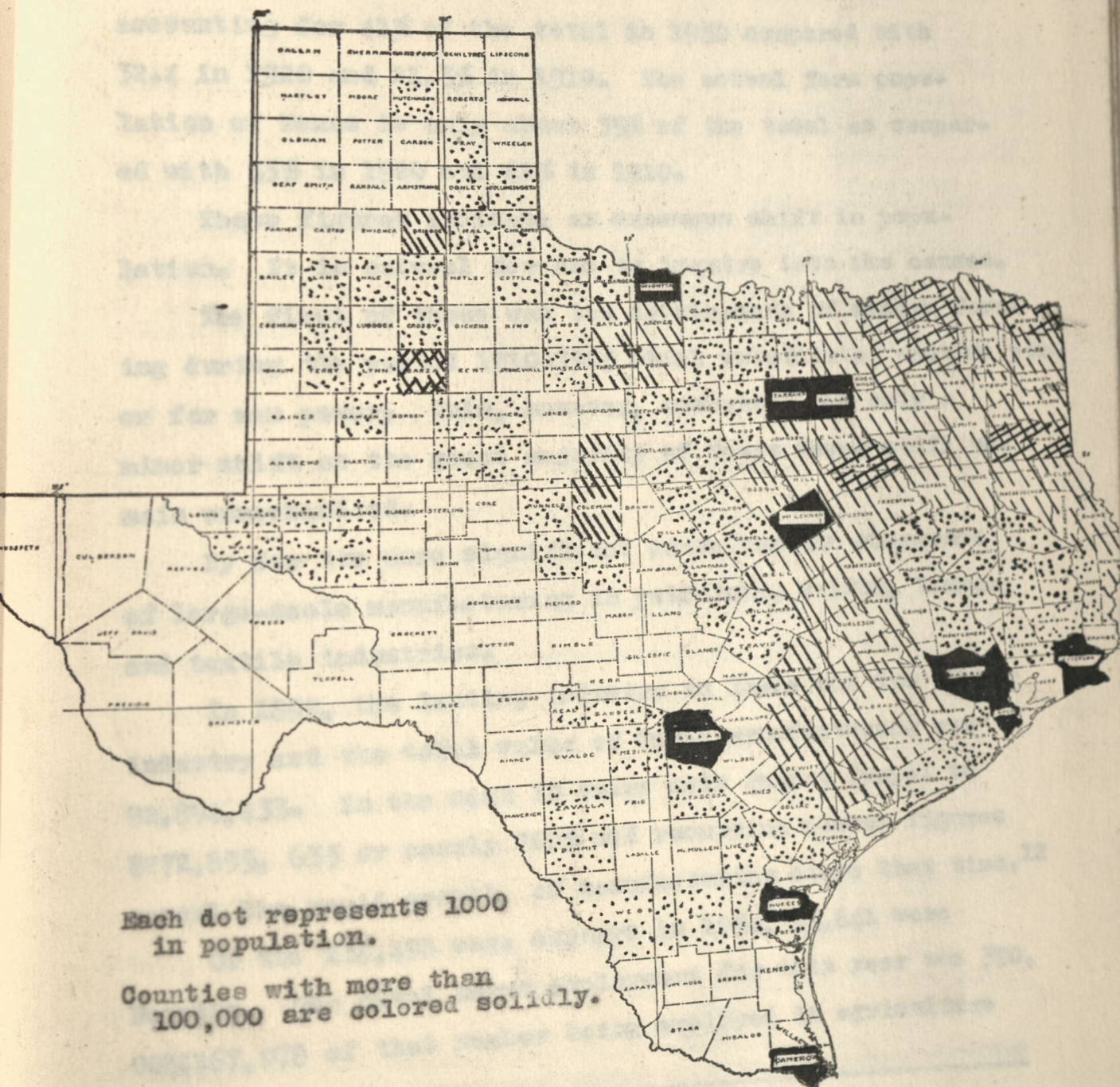
B- bordering states: Arkansas, Louisiana, Oklahoma, etc.

NC- north central: Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, etc.

SC- south central: Alabama, Mississippi, etc.

SE- southeastern: Georgia, North and South Carolina, etc.





Distribution of Texas Population, 1938.



the increase in urban population, this classification accounting for 41% of the total in 1930 compared with 32.4 in 1920 and 21.3% in 1910. The actual farm population of Texas is only about 35% of the total as compared with 53% in 1920 and 61% in 1910.

These figures indicate an enormous shift in population. It is natural for one to inquire into the causes.

The first of these was the development of modern farming during the period 1910-1925 which substituted machine power for man power. This, however, accounted for only a minor shift as the great majority of Texas farms still remain unmechanized.

By far the more significant cause was the emergence of large-scale manufacturing in petroleum, sulfur, lumber, and textile industries.

In 1899, the leading industry in Texas was the lumber industry and the total value of Texas manufacturing was 92,894,433. In the next 10 years this output jumped to \$272,895,635 or nearly 200% and recurring census figures reveal the rapid growth of manufacturing since that time.<sup>12</sup>

Of the 134,498 wage earners in 1930, 43,641 were Negroes. The total Negro employment for this year was 390,008; 167,078 of that number being employed in agriculture

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12. See Table 3, p. 19.



Texas Wage Earners, 1900-1933.<sup>13</sup>

Year	No. of Wage Earners	Wages	Value of Product
1900	38,604	16,911,681	92,894,433
1910	70,230	37,907,272	272,895,635
1920	170,522	116,403,803	999,995,796
1930	134,498	51,827,251	1,450,246,431
1933	91,374	73,476,730	686,752,347

Table 3.

and 87,861 in domestic service.<sup>14</sup>

### 3. Emergence of Political and Economic Leadership--

Throughout the early period of Texas' industrialism was emerging the leadership which was to play so vital a part in the status of the state and the Negro as a citizen. Among these men were Pat Neff, former governor of Texas; Ralph Price, cattle baron; Jim Ferguson, former governor; Jesse Jones, financier; William S. Jacobs, influential minister, and James V. Allred, former governor and now United States judge.

Among Negroes should be mentioned C. C. Rice, for twenty years editor of the Texas Freeman, William McDonald, prominent North Texas politician; John B. Grisby,

13. Worlds Almanac, 1935, p. 575.

14. United States Census, Texas Abstract, p. 453.



financier and politician; I. S. Campbell and Elias Dibble pioneer minister; James D. Ryan educator; and C. F. Richardson, Publisher of the Houston Defender.

At the same time, C. W. Rice was beginning to make himself felt. The part which he played in deciding the destiny of Negro labor now becomes our topic of discussion.

On May 4, 1857, Fortson called on Baywood County, Tennessee, for on that day within its confines, a little babe was born to Mary and Richard Rice, pioneer members of the community. Crying and kicking energetically, he began a life of protest which was to make him prominent enough to become the subject of this treatise.

Following the hereditary learning, he took up the plow early in life, and at the tender age of seven presented himself a man.

But even now some doubt. So in October, 1864, he began his formal education in the rural schools of Baywood County. Here he learned to read and discovered quickly that it was a great help. He used this new-found ability to supplement himself with the family library which consisted of two books, the Bible and Booker T. Washington's Up from Slavery. Of the latter book Rice says, "It filled me with an idea of the dignity of labor and influenced me profoundly in the direction of a career."



## CHAPTER III

### EARLY LIFE OF C. W. RICE

#### A. Childhood in Tennessee - Birthplace, Parentage, and Early Training

On May 6, 1897, Fortune smiled on Haywood County, Tennessee, for on that day within its confines, a lusty babe was born to Mary and Ezekial Rice, pioneer members of the community. Crying and kicking energetically, he began a life of protest which was to make him prominent enough to become the subject of this treatise.

Following the hereditary learning, he took up the plow early in life, and at the tender age of seven accounted himself a man.

But even men must learn. So in October, 1905, he began his formal education in the rural schools of Haywood County. Here he learned to read and discovered gleefully that it was a great help. He used this new-found ability to acquaint himself with the family library which consisted of two books, the Bible and Booker T. Washington's Up From Slavery. Of the latter book Rice says, "It filled me with an idea of the dignity of labor and influenced tremendously my selection of a career." <sup>1</sup>

#### B. Adolescence - Training and Occupations

In 1909, he entered the city school of Jackson, Ten-

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1. Interview with C. W. Rice, April 12, 1939



nessee for one year. He then attended Lane College where he spent three years in the high school department. During this period, he supported himself by working as a domestic servant in white homes after school hours. After finishing his high school work at Lane College, he returned to Haywood County and began to distribute his laboriously acquired learning. This continued for a year.

Then, hearing of the opportunities for Negroes in Texas, he decided to visit his aunt in Corsicana, Texas. Mr. Rice came to this state in the autumn of 1914.

Notwithstanding the fact that the course he had completed in Tennessee was equivalent to that offered in Corsicana High School, Mr. Rice entered the school system in Corsicana "for the sole purpose of educational contact and to observe the school methods and conditions in Texas."<sup>2</sup>

At any rate, he graduated in June, 1916 and entered Samuel Huston College in Austin, Texas in September. As had been his custom in former schools, he began to earn his schooling by working in the homes of white families.

#### C. C. W. Rice, 1917-1921

##### 1. Positions held--

In 1917, when America entered the Great War, Mr Rice left Samuel Huston and volunteered as a war lecturer, using for his subject, "Why the Black Man Should Rally Around The Flag." After touring several states, he renounced this

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2. Interview with C. W. Rice, April 12, 1939



occupation and in December, 1917, entered the Texas Department of Agriculture as an agent to encourage Negro farmers to produce more food and feed products. Upon making application for this type of service, he was told by Fred W. Davis, Commissioner of Agriculture that there were no available funds for colored workers since none had applied before.<sup>3</sup> He then asked and was granted permission to work without salary. His expenses were to be paid from public collections.

While serving as a volunteer for the State Department of Labor, he also served as a Junior Examiner for the U. S. Department of Labor. His duties in this capacity were to check abilities and skills of laborers, place them in positions for which they were fitted and then ship them to various sections of the United States where they were needed. He served in this department until the close of the war.

## 2. Accomplishments --

In his first occupation during this period, C. W. Rice was eminently successful. In fact, it was because of the large number of persons whom he persuaded to volunteer that he was able to make his connections with the Texas Department of Agriculture.

In this capacity, during the eighteen months of volunteer service, he organized 408 colored farmers institutes

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3. Interview with C. W. Rice, April 12, 1939



and canning clubs. As a result of this prodigious effort, Mr. Davis recommended at the following session of the legislature that an appropriation be made for a Negro division of his department. This request was granted after a long legislative struggle during which one member stated that he would not allow "a beaver hat and a walking stick for a nigger." In January, 1919, Mr. Rice became a salaried employee of the Texas Department of Labor with a desk at Austin.

The main result of his service as Junior Examiner was the useful experience which he gained in handling laborers.

Being the first Negro to be hired by the Texas Department of Agriculture in other than a menial capacity, Mr. Rice may be considered as the cause of extension work in Texas among Negroes.<sup>4</sup> When the Department of Agriculture turned its educational activities over to the extension department of the Agricultural and Mechanical College of Texas in 1920, he was offered the position as county agent at Marshall in Harrison County. He refused the position for "the field was too narrow for him to serve the needs of his people."<sup>5</sup> Thus the T. N. B. and W. M. A. came into being.

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<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.



## CHAPTER IV

## THE TEXAS NEGRO BUSINESS AND WORKING MAN'S ASSOCIATION

A. The Formative Period, 1921 - 1925

## 1. Date and Place of Formation - -

In August, 1921, a group of seven colored citizens of Beaumont met at the home of Clemmon Cerf, a conservative Negro grocer. Out of that meeting appeared an organization known as the Beaumont Negro Business League, a title which was to be changed to the Texas Negro Business and Working Man's Association within three years.

## 2. Purposes of the Organization - -

The purposes of formation as later stated in the papers of incorporation were:

" 1. To promote the industrial, commercial, financial and agricultural development of the Negro race."

" 2. To cooperate with recognized educational agencies and commercial bodies of the character of Boards of Trade and Chambers of Commerce with the idea in view of helping to better the health and general living conditions of Negroes in the rural communities and cities of Texas.<sup>1</sup>"

In conversations with the subject, the writer received information which may hint to a third purpose which, if not philanthropic, is yet acceptable. That purpose was to form an organization which would serve as a medium for the

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<sup>1</sup> See Appendix II for complete copy of charter.



dissemination of the idea which he had laboriously conceived and which would, at the same time, guarantee him an independent livelihood.

### 3. Officers and Members - -

The six persons who met with Clemmon Cerf at his residence that memorable day in August were Sim Seymour, Leve Hopkins, C. W. Rice, Louise K. Miller, J. T. Anderson and M. E. Powell.

This group elected Clemmon Cerf president, C. W. Rice business manager and J. T. Anderson secretary.

With this leadership, this initial organization soon gathered a membership of approximately two hundred persons including professional workers as well as laborers.

### 4. Role of Rice during the Formative Stage - -

As previously stated, the subject filled the role of business manager in the League. As such it was his duty to contact employers and business groups in order to carry out the program of the organization. It was in this position that he gained the confidence of many leading members of the community and built for himself a reputation of trustworthiness. <sup>2</sup>

### 5. Early Accomplishments - -

The first objective of the organization was to raise \$ 1200 and give Beaumont its first colored public health nurse.

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<sup>2</sup> See Beaumont Chamber of Commerce letter, Appendix I.



In rapid succession, it then established a Health Clinic for Negroes, raised funds to match federal funds for the employment of an agricultural extension agent for Negroes, and secured for Negroes a division of the South Texas State Fair, from which Negroes had previously been excluded.<sup>3</sup>

B. EARLY MATURITY, 1924 - 1930.

1. Incorporation of the Organization - 1924 - -

As the T. N. B. and W. M. A. increased in size, it also increased in liability. For this reason, the officers of the organization met in January, 1925 and decided to incorporate.<sup>4</sup> The papers of incorporation were issued February 3, 1925. The officers were:

Clemmon C. Cerf, president

C. W. Rice, first vice president and general manager

Levi Hopkins, second vice president

J. T. Anderson, secretary

Sim Seymour, treasurer

Louise K. Miller, assistant secretary

M. E. Powell, field secretary

<sup>3</sup>See Beaumont Chamber of Commerce Letter, Appendix I.

<sup>4</sup>Interview with C. W. Rice, March 26, 1939.



## 2. Further expansion of the T. N. B. and W. M. A. - -

With this arrangement, the association expanded to such a degree that it became advisable to open branch offices in Port Arthur, Houston, Galveston, and San Antonio. Still later, ( 1925 ) the main office was moved to Houston because of its central location. With a membership exceeding 1500, it reached the high water mark of its growth.

## 3. Finances of the Organization - -

The receipts of the T. N. B. and W. M. A. originated from two sources, membership dues and contributions.

Dues, which were twenty five cents weekly (and a one dollar joining fee) were restricted to colored. In the peak year of resources ( 1928 ), these totaled \$ 2,000.

Contributions, which consistently furnished from 60% to 75 % of the operating expenses, were usually made by whites interested in Mr. Rice personally and in the stabilization of Negro employment.<sup>5</sup>

## 4. Rice's Developing Labor Philosophy - -

But by far the most noteworthy result of this period was the development of Rice's labor philosophy. Previous to this time, the T. N. B. and W. M. A. had been a business men's league, but as the subject came more and more into contact with the common laborer and domestic servant, he

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<sup>5</sup> Detailed figures and sources are lacking due to incomplete records of the T. N. B. and W. M. A.



placed a new emphasis on their relations with their employers. Thus developed the ideas which were to flower forth into the Worker's Aid Club of the T. N. B. and W. M. A.

##### 5. Initial Effects of the Depression on the Organization -

It was at this time ( 1929 ) that the depression first began to seriously affect the South. " As usual Negro workers were the greatest sufferers<sup>6</sup>." In fact, unemployment among colored laborers ran from four to six times as high as among whites. Moreover, Negroes lost jobs earlier than any other category; by 1929, 300,000 black industrial workers were unemployed by 1935, this had grown to 900,000.

A survey of 106 cities disclosed that in 1931 from 20 % to 30 % of the Negro population were jobless of the 45,000 unemployed in Washington, D. C., 30,000 were closed; in Harlem,  $\frac{2}{3}$  of all wage earners were unemployed.

In Houston, the stronghold of the T. N. B. and W. M. A., Negroes, who constituted only 30 % of the population, furnished 60 % of the unemployed. " Last to be hired, first to be fired", was the way in which colored workers expressed their dilemma.

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<sup>6</sup> Minton and Stuart, Men Who Lead Labor, p.167.



With this as a background, it is not surprising to discover that membership dropped from 1500 to 1050 and that the offices at San Antonio and Port Arthur were closed.

C. Restricted Program of the Association, 1930 - 1939.

1. Later effects of the Depression - -

In comparatively good times, Negroes were able to eke out a marginal, sub-standard existence devoid of any prospect of improvement. With the increasing intensity of the depression, they were forced to depend more and more upon relief, and to endure appalling destitution. By the end of 1934, the Negroes on relief totaled  $3\frac{1}{2}$  million, over  $\frac{1}{2}$  of the total Negro population at that time. Colored applicants received less aid than whites, the same old enmities were intensified by the struggle for economic security. "The Negro could be secure only in his only in his knowledge that no matter where he turned, his needs and desires would receive no consideration, that he could expect little sympathy, not only from employers, but also from the government and from the official labor movement."<sup>7</sup>

Meanwhile the fortunes of the T. N. B. and W. M. A. sank even lower. Membership fell even lower to 750, and it became necessary to close the remaining branch offices at Beaumont and Galveston. The T. N. B. and W. M. A. had reached the low point of its existence.

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<sup>7</sup> Ibid., p. 168.



## 2. Achievements - -

Yet it was during this time that the T. N. B. and W. M. A. did its most constructive work. Through its workers Aid Club, it found jobs for almost 10,000 persons in the depth of business inactivity.

The 1937 report of Workers Aid Club tends to substantiate this statement.

### Report of Workers Aid Club - 1937<sup>8</sup>

Jobs to come in	-----	1101
Jobs filled	-----	958
Jobs referred to other agencies	---	20

One hundred twenty three jobs were unfilled because of low wages, poor working conditions, etc.

Table 4

It was during this same period ( 1934 ) that this organizations began its semi annual Domestic and Industrial workers institutes for the purpose of " helping workers to become better informed in their particular lines of work and to acquaint themselves with new methods in the use of modern appliances. "

These were financed by contributions from interested employers usually amounting to about sixty in number.

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<sup>8</sup> Records of T. N. B. and W. M. A., 1937.



The average attendance during such meetings ranged about 400 for the three day meeting.

There remains one other accomplishment of this period which must be mentioned. This was the suit of the National Federation of Railway Employees vs. the National Mediation Board.<sup>9</sup> Mr. Rice holds the position of international organizer for the above mentioned union, an independent organization formed some 21 years ago and having as members several hundred railway employees of varied crafts, including train porters, brakemen, mechanics, and track laborers. The president of the union is L. W. Fairchild of Popular Bluff, Missouri.

The action as brought by Mr. Rice claimed irregularities during a coach cleaners election held by the Mediation Board in December, 1937. The election was held to determine choice of representation of the coach cleaners employed on the Texas and Pacific Railroad in Texas and Louisiana. The organizations in question were Railway Employees Department of the American Federation of Labor and the National Federation of Railway Workers.

Mr. Rice, held that he was designated to represent the cleaners at the election and the Mediator Robert T. Cole ignored him and dealt with F. W. Washington general chairman of the coach cleaners division.

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<sup>9</sup> See Houston Defender, April 8, 1938.



Further evidence was also presented to show that Cole was partial and biased.

As a result, an injunction was granted March 30, 1938 by the District Court of the United States for the District of Columbia. There remains another phase of the problem, however. That issue is whether under the constitution the National Labor Relations Board has the right to certify a union as its sole bargaining agency which bars members on account of color. This suit is now pending. 10

Thus we obtain an idea of the activities and accomplishments of C. W. Rice over an eighteen year period. There remains, however, one other organization in which the subject participated to be discussed.

That organization was the Negro Labor News, C. W. Rice's official medium of expression for eight years.



## CHAPTER V

## BROADENING OF C.W.RICE'S INFLUENCE THROUGH THE NEGRO LABOR NEWS

A. Cause of formation

On April 18, 1931, there appeared the first issue of the Negro Labor News, a semi-monthly edited and published by C. W. Rice. In the editorial, "Why We Publish a Paper," he states the reason for the emergence of the Labor News...

" It is in times of depression and unemployment, when workers are ignorant of the grave situation which seeks to destroy the very economic foundation of society, that a labor paper is most helpful and should be read by every man and woman who is interested in the welfare of the working class.

" After studying the Negro labor situation for many years, we are convinced of the urgent necessity for such a journal to come forth and respond to an almost unanimous appeal of the working classes of the state and the majority of employers.<sup>1</sup>

B. Influence of the Paper

The exact influence of the paper is hard to determine. It is known that the average circulation of each issue is approximately fifteen hundred copies. Of these, it is estimated that 200 reach employers, 300 the general public,

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<sup>1</sup> Negro Labor News, April 18, 1931, P. 1.



200 members of other labor movements, and 800 members of the T. N. B. and W. M. A.

# 1. On Employers - -

Because of the reasonable and conciliatory tone of the paper, it is generally approved by employers. Statements appear such as the following: " As I see it, if labor had a more authentic insight into the problems of the average employer, and if selfish labor leaders and politicians would cease scattering propaganda that is rapidly destroying our American business, we would soon be on the road to recovery from our economic ills.<sup>2</sup> "

A grain he warns, "Let the colored workers resolve not to be used as tools for radicals to stir up labor troubles. Negroes in Texas hold some good jobs, especially in the industries along the Gulf Coast. The right of collective bargaining should be exercised by all workers, but collective bullying will not get us anywhere.<sup>3</sup> " It is seldom that he strikes out at employers vigorously, though instances do appear. In 1931, he stated, " Not only do we find people taking the advantage in slashing wages, but lots of employers are making one person do the work of three. These practices will certainly not get us back on the road to business prosperity.<sup>4</sup> "

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<sup>2</sup> Negro Labor News, April 15, 1939, p. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Negro Labor News, January 8, 1937, p. 1.

<sup>4</sup> Negro Labor News, July 11, 1931, p. 1.



In the main, however, the paper pursues a policy of liberal conservatism which meets favor with employer. For substantiation of this statement, it is necessary merely to glance at a list of the sponsors of the Domestic and Industrial Workers Institute of 1937.<sup>5</sup> "

## 2. On Workers - -

The appeal of the Labor News to the working class varies. It varies largely because of division of labor and into two groups, organized labor and unorganized labor. It further oscillates with the previous history of the specific organized group in question. For instance, members of unions such as the Lathers Union, which does not practice discrimination, do not take kindly to Rice's advocacy of independent unionism. Those who are included in marginal groups such as longshoremen, along with the more militant unorganized workers such as the laundrymen, strongly support the policies of the Labor News.

The remainder of the unorganized workers of Houston are, in general, definitely hostile to the policies of this paper. This is especially true of a large group of domestic servants who resent, though often apply, counsel such as, "Keep your job no matter what the requirements. Do the necessary thing to keep on working. No employer with sense enough to need help is going to dismiss a profitable employee."<sup>6</sup> "

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See Appendix VIII.

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Negro Labor News, May 19, 1934.



### C. Finances of the Labor News

The Negro Labor News is financed mainly through two sources. These are advertisements and subscriptions, the former furnishing the major portion of the income.

Though the writer was unable to obtain exact figures regarding the financial condition of the paper, there is every reason to believe that the profits, if any, are meager and that the Negro Labor News, in common with labor papers in general, is published chiefly as an agency or weapon of popularization and propaganda.



## CHAPTER VI

## RICE AS A LEADER OF LABOR

A. Restatement of his Varied Activities

It now becomes apparent that the life of the subject has been full. From a domestic servant, he rose successively to school teacher, patriotic orator, examiner for the United States department of Labor, Agent of the Texas Department of Agriculture and finally president-manager of the T. N. B. and W. M. A. and editor-publisher of the Negro Labor News.

## 1. His Relation to the Organized Labor Movement

In these varied activities, his opinions concerning the organized labor movement, the role of government and the expediency of independent unionism underwent radical revision.

Especially definite were his conclusions regarding organized labor. We suggest that Negro workers form their own organizations and bargain with their employers. It matters not what the organization will be called since it will carry out the president's wishes of collective bargaining."<sup>1</sup>

In February, 1937, he said, "The Negro worker in the South should be very cautious in accepting the Committee for Industrial Organization, notwithstanding the fact that

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<sup>1</sup> Negro Labor News, May 5, 1934, p. 1.



thousands of Negro workers are overworked and underpaid and have no redress in their cause."<sup>2</sup>

Statements such as these make it evident that Rice is opposed to Negroes affiliating themselves with organized labor as represented by the American Federation of Labor and the Committee for Industrial Organization. This type of conclusion, however, would be inconsistent with fact. The subject believes that Negroes should join these organizations--if they adequately protect their colored membership.

In the Negro Labor News of February 6, 1937, he states, "Negro workers should be very careful in accepting either the A. F. of L. or the C. I. O. as their salvation. But they should not be reluctant to join if they are positively guaranteed equal rights and protection."<sup>3</sup>

## 2. His Advocacy of Independent Unionism

Because his observations tended to show that this was rarely done, Mr. Rice advocated the formation of independent unions by Negroes as a minority technic to protect their members against aggression either by employers or by other workers.

It is for this reason that the T. N. B. and W. M. A. has

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<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p.1.

<sup>3</sup> "As I See It," p. 1.



remained an independent union. It is for the same reason that his only other union connections are with the National Federation of Railway Workers, an independent union of colored railway employees.

## B. Statement of his Philosophy of Labor

### 1. Factors influencing it

The previous statement brings to light the first assumption upon which Rice's labor philosophy is constructed--that the interests of white workers do not always coincide with those of their black fellows and that Negroes should protect themselves by every conceivable means in these areas of conflict.

Such a conviction is the result, not of nebulous fancies, but rather of the interaction of a group of actual circumstances and concrete experiences.

The history of the International Longshoremen's Association has been one of these factors which exerted considerable influence upon the subject's philosophy of labor. In 1934, the local organization agreed that laborers would continue to be employed in the then existing ratio. (Negroes formed approximately 75% of the longshoremen.) Until 1939, this arrangement seemed satisfactory. Yet in the Houston Chronicle of April 20, 1939, there appeared the following



article:

"R. J. Langgrebe, president of the white local 1273 of the International Longshoremen's Association, appeared in City Hall with a resolution that one-half of the port jobs be given whites, J. W. Constant, business agent of local 1409, Negro branch of the International Longshoremen's Association, appeared and spoke against the action." 4

Another example of the same technic (which is largely responsible for Rice's independent position) may be observed in the attempt of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers of the A. F. of L. to organize the employees of all wholesale beer and soft drink dispensers in Houston, an effort now in progress. As soon as the employees of a given plant are organized, a closed shop is instituted and colored laborers are removed.

This has been the case in the Union Bottling Works which formerly employed 50 colored workers and in the Coca Cola Bottling Co. who formerly employed 45 colored workers.

Actions such as these were sufficient to convince the subject that an identity of interests did not exist between white and black workers.

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4 Houston Chronicle, April 20, 1939, p. 11.



## 2. Expression of it in the Labor News

This philosophy receives its classic statement in the Negro Labor News of August 13, 1938. "The Negro Labor News believes in, stands for, and advocates the right of workers to bargain collectively in the spirit of justice and fair play to all concerned. Since there is a race problem in America and there is discrimination against the Negro worker on the part of other workers in many of the unions now in existence, we take the position that race workers should first form their own organizations for the purpose of determining what would be best for the Negro."<sup>5</sup>

Regarding the role of government, he states, "We believe that union movements should be conducted with a business policy having definite duties and responsibilities. We contend that since the rights of collective bargaining has become the law of the land, labor unions should come more and more under the scrutiny of government."<sup>6</sup>

Finally, he argues that "since the Government is called upon to certify unions as bargaining agencies, it should not certify any union as the sole bargaining agency where such unions bar workers on account of color."<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> "As I See It," p. 1.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.



These beliefs form the crux of the subject's labor philosophy. To him, these principles are as definite and unchangeable as the law of gravity--and it is upon these that he charts his course in the sea of labor relations."<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> Proof of this statement may be obtained by a study of the railroad case, (Chapter III) and by an analysis of his actions during the 1934 longshoreman's strike. (Chapter VII.)



## CHAPTER VII

## EVALUATION OF RICE AS A LEADER

Thus far, it has been the intention of the writer to present a suitable background for this evaluation, which he considers to be the most significant portion of this study.

In it, the writer plans to present not only his personal evaluation, but that of others who possess interests in the subject.

A. Criteria For Evaluating Labor Leaders

To make any type of evaluation, it is first necessary to construct a group of criteria which will serve as a basis for appraisal.

This task becomes especially difficult when attention is turned to the numerous factors, both actual and psychological, which must be considered. For, due to the pressure of an industrial world of rapid changes, great complexity and frequent conflict, he must possess specialized abilities not required of leaders in other fields.

The labor leader must be forever ready, he must possess flexible methods to meet new situations, he must be a mixture of idealism and practicality. This is the ideal leader which labor longs for but has never obtained. Instead we find intellectuals such as Brown and Randolph on one hand and practical leaders such as Green and Hutcheson.<sup>1</sup>

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1. Cf. Minton and Stuart, Men Who Lead Labor, passim.



In an attempt to reconcile the divergent philosophies of these two types, the writer has investigated a wide range of materials. From this collectivity of information, he has chosen the opinion of a representative member of each type to depict the viewpoints of the entire group.

For the intellectuals, the author has selected Carrol L. Daugherty, Professor of Economics at the University of Pittsburgh and a recognized authority on labor problems. To represent the ideas of the practical labor leader, he has selected John L. Lewis, president of the C. I. O., a man who has arisen to his present eminence through experience and strenuous labor.

#### 1. Daugherty's Criteria --

According to Daugherty, good labor leaders are those "able to analyse and plan and make the right decisions quickly, who have brains, brawn, moral courage and respect inspiring personalities, who can command obedience and confidence - men in short who are good generals and good mixers."<sup>3</sup>

These qualities, Daugherty feels, are absolutely essential to success as a labor leader.

#### 2. John L. Lewis's Criteria - -

But practical men of labor such as William Green, Edward McGrady, and Harry Bridges do not agree with the criteria listed above. Neither does John L. Lewis.



He believes that the first requisite is the ability to gain the support of the members of his union. In addition he must have the ability to deal firmly and fairly with the employers of labor. He must have a grasp of the political problems involved, and be able to act politically on behalf of his members.<sup>4</sup>

This statement especially the final sentence may be called the labor philosophy of John L. Lewis for he firmly believes that it is imperative for workers to invade politics if they wish to preserve any economic advances. It was due to this belief that the American Labor Party and the Labor Non-Partizan League were formed.<sup>5</sup>

Thus the decided contrast in the thinking of these persons becomes apparent. Daugherty is interested in the character of the individual - Lewis in the effect of his personality upon others. And yet both of them mention essential qualities which may not be disregarded in the formation of the writer's criteria.

#### B. My Criteria for the Evaluation of the Subject

For this reason, the writer has attempted to combine these criteria and from them to arrive at standards which would include the essential portions of each viewpoint. He therefore presents for the readers consideration the following criteria: (1) Brains, (2) Courage, (3) Tact (4) Progressiveness and (5) Ability to get results.

<sup>4</sup> See Appendix V for copy of entire letter.

<sup>5</sup> Op. cit. p. 112.



By the term brains, the writer refers not only to abstract intelligence, but also to concrete capabilities such as exactness and accuracy in the keeping of records the ability to sense and size up a situation, and the power of creative thought.

Both physical valor and mental fortitude will find discussion under courage for it is now recognized that strength of character is fully as vital as strength of arm.

Tact will involve not only prudence of expression, but also the ability to win others over to one's opinion and the capacity for genuine sympathy for the lot of unfortunate workers.

By the term progressiveness, the writer refers to awareness of changing situations and conditions, to the amount of study given recent labor legislation, and the sincerity of attempts to carry out ideals of union democracy, all essential characteristics for successful leadership.

The last of these criteria, the ability to get results, is by far the most practical of all and is generally accepted as the sole standard.<sup>7</sup> Under this classification, the writer plans to analyse the accomplishments of the subject and evaluate them in the light of possible attainments.

#### C. Various Evaluations of C. W. Rice.

Before embarking upon the course just outlined, the writer wishes to first present the evaluations of other persons who

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<sup>7</sup> By results, the writer means positive action which tends to improve the status of the union members.



have a more or less direct and personal interest in the subject.

#### 1. Organized Labor's Evaluation - -

The first group to command attention is the official labor leadership connected with the A. F. of L. and C. I. O. In talking with leaders of the Houston Trades Council and various members, the writer discovered that Mr. Rice is in disrepute with them. These men held that Mr. Rice has been unfriendly to organized labor and that his attitude is based upon selfish motives. Admitting that he is capable, they still feel that his energy has not been placed in the proper channels. Mr. Carroll of the Latherers Union apparently stated the general position when he said, " Mr. Rice appears to be a smart man, but he thinks lop-sided."<sup>8</sup>

#### 2. Unorganized Labor's Evaluation - -

Unorganized labor, however, does not share fully this opinion. Though many of them are vigorous critics of Mr. Rice, the trend, as shown by a sample survey taken at random over the streets of Houston, is in the opposite direction. Of the 34 persons interviewed, 27 belonged to no group formed on the basis of economic interests and objectives. Of these, 19 were non-committal, for they had nothing but hearsay to depend upon to form their conclusions.

Of the eight workers who did express themselves, the

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<sup>8</sup> Interview with Mr. Carroll, May 5, 1939.



majority formed an approving group, stressing such matters as his campaign against the strike of the Public Laundry workers in 1937 and his courage in the Longshoremen's strike of 1934.

in the following examples.

### 3. Evaluation by T. N. B. and W. M. A. members

This study also included seven members of the T. N. B. and W. M. A. chosen by the same method. They also shared the favorable opinion of unorganized labor. The exact results follow:

#### Results of Random Survey of Laborers

Qualifications	Members of T.N.B. and W.M.A.		%	Unorganized Labor	
	yes	no		yes	no
Brains	6	1		4	4
Loyalty	6	1		7	1
Courage	5	2		6	2
Tact	4	3		5	3
Progressiveness	6	1		3	5

Number interviewed-----34

Number listed-----15

Union workers----- 7

Non-union workers ----- 8

Number with no definite opinion ----19

Table 5

### 4. Opinions of Negro Leaders

A fourth class definitely interested in the subject



is composed of Negro leaders. Their opinions of him vary widely, and are no doubt often influenced by their personal prejudices. The decided contrast may be observed in the following examples.

Speaking in chapel, May 23, 1939, Principal W. R. Banks of Prairie View State College said, "Mr. Rice is not only one of the best-informed leaders of Negro labor, but also one of the most progressive."

But Carter Wesley, editor of the Houston Informer, does not share the same opinion. In a recent editorial he stated, "The Post editor will get some consolation from narrow-brained Negroes, who argue that Negroes should not join the A. F. of L. or the U. I. O. These shallow brained Uncle Toms argue that Negroes can best serve themselves in establishing independent unions. They and their group, in their attempt to establish independent unions, have led those who follow them to disaster on every occasion and can point to no single independent union that they have helped. These black rascally leaders who are trying to keep labor split in the South by color, in order to feather their own nests, are worse than the reactionary editors. They are just cheap Benedict Arnolds who sell out their own group."<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> Houston Informer, May 6, 1939, Section II, p. 2.



In this connection it might be considered significant to note that the Informer refers to itself as "the only official Negro organ for organized labor in Texas."

#### 5. Miscellaneous Evaluations - -

Various other appraisals of Mr. Rice and his leadership have been made.<sup>10</sup> One person informed the author that he (the subject) was "stuck on himself", and another criticised him on the basis that "he's always conducting cooking schools."

This type of opinion was not universal. In an anonymous letter received by the subject in the writer's presence, we find the following tribute:

May 5, 1939.

To the Editor and Publisher of the Labor News:

I wish to say through this paper to the Laundry Workers in Houston stay out of the union. Don't let Preacher Jones or Green lead you no where. The one that wrote you this letter have been in a laundry union and since then where are we. The union called us out in a strike. We are still out. They never did a thing for the Negro strikers. Some of us has never had a job since. I want to say if you Laundry People have a job, keep it, and try to do better and give better service.

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<sup>10</sup> See Appendix IV for Hughley's opinion of C. W. Rice.



Let Preacher Jones lead you to how to serve God right and God will bless him. I could say lots more if I could only meet Preacher Jones. I have all proffs of what I write. Stay out, stay out of the union.

Yours, an admirer of  
the Labor News.

P. S. I hope I will see this in print if it escapes the waste basket.

Thus, the difficulty of a scientific evaluation becomes apparent. The impediments presented by the aura of personal interests and biases surrounding the subject appear almost insurmountable. Nowhere is there agreement regarding the role and accomplishments of the subject.

Yet from this conglomerate mass of facts and opinions, the writer hopes to arrive at an evaluation that will be scientific and objective.



#### D. The Writer's Evaluation of C. W. Rice

C. W. Rice is a very engaging man. Possessed of more than average intelligence, he manages to steer the T.N.B. and W.M.A. upon a course which, if often devious, still achieves the greater objectives of the organization. He appears to possess executive ability and makes definite decisions quickly. He does not, however, have the passion for exactness which is often essential. To the lack of this characteristic may be traced the incomplete compilation of records of his union. It is the opinion of the writer that detailed records add much to the program of an organization and are essential to progressive and militant action-figures being the chief weapon which employees use in justifying aggressive action against employers.

Physically, the subject is a large man over six feet in height and weighing approximately 200 pounds. This size and stature combined with extraordinary strength have made the subject physically intrepid. In the Seaman's strike of 1934, he was threatened with violence several times, and two attempts were made upon his life. These, however, did not deter him from advocating more conservative measures in the conduct of the strike.

He also appears to possess the strength of his convictions and is willing to suffer unpopularity in order to obtain his objective.

As early as 1931, he knew his mind. At that time he stated unequivocally, "Charity work may interest charity



workers, but statesmen and owners of industries should be interested in the causes of unemployment and their removal. Charitable acts can be substitute for social justice."<sup>11</sup>

At present, (May, 1939) he is earnestly fighting a movement by the A.F. of L. to organize the colored employees of Henke and Pillot Grocery Company on the basis that the offer is similar to the one recently made to employees of the beer and soft drink dealers in Houston which ended with the exclusion of Negro workers.<sup>12</sup> Such struggles, in the face of consistent opposition from leaders of both races point toward moral courage, especially when we consider that the subject could retain his status without making them.

Unfortunately, the subject is not equally adept to winning others over to his viewpoint. A veritable Sampson of labor, he smites mightily those whom he considers enemies of Negro labor. "Too many Negro would-be leaders are nothing more than publicity hounds. The race and community will never make progress until such persons are relegated and persons selected for positions who are willing to do the job."<sup>13</sup>

He, of course, receives their answering blows.<sup>14</sup>

He does, however, exhibit a sympathy for the unfortunate, and through his workers' aid club attempts to alleviate their condition by offering an employment service

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12. See Houston Informer, May 6, 1939, p. 1

13. Negro Labor News, Jan. 20, 1934, p. 1

14. See Wesley's opinion of C. W. Rice, Chapter VII Sec. C.



and free medical assistance. To this desire to help this group may also be traced many conciliatory gestures made through the columns of the Labor News and in part his willingness to bargain with reactionary employers on their terms. At times he shows considerable adroitness of expression. For instance, in stating his position on Communism, he confines himself to the remark that "it will not be wise to ignore or minimize the power of a well-trained, organized minority over an unorganized majority."<sup>15</sup>

A glance at Mr Rice's desk will reveal a single copy of Daugherty's Labor Problems in American Industry, the only book on labor theory. There are no treatises on labor legislation. Yet the subject exhibits an understanding of the problems and conditions confronting Negroes and makes efforts to obtain better circumstances for them. It is to this end that the present railroad case is being fought.

He has not, however, made headway toward the ideal of full worker participation in the affairs of the union, the T. N. B. and W. M. A. being still a one man organization and its members little more than pawns in the great labor game played by Mr. Rice with the employers.

The essential goal of unionism, conservative or radical, is the promotion of group unity and awareness of common interests among all workmen in a given trade or industry



in order to expand standards of living, provide security, and win a larger degree of control over the job and the terms of employment. For this reason, the union leader must produce results. And C. W. Rice has done so. Over a fifteen year period, his main endeavor has been to find jobs for Negroes and his basic principle cooperation with employers. Using this method, the subject has filled 75,000 vacancies in domestic service and industry at wages ranging from eight to thirty dollars per week during this period.

Only in his capacity as organizer for the National Federation of Railway Workers and publicist for the Negro longshoremen of Houston does he exhibit militancy. The remainder of the time he remains a conservative business unionist advising workers to be cautious in attempting aggressive action. "Do the necessary thing to keep on working. No employer with sense enough to need help is going to dismiss a profitable employee." 16

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16 Negro Labor News, May 19, 1934, p. 1.



## CHAPTER VIII

### SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

#### A. Summary

Thus passes in review the life and works of C. W. Rice. As the leader of 800 Texas workers, he has come a long way from his original status as a farmer boy.

In this state, he has held various positions of responsibility since 1917. At that time, he became an agent of the Texas Department of Agriculture. In succession, he became a Junior Examiner of the U. S. Department of Labor, business manager of the T. N. B. and W. M. A. and president manager of the latter organization.

In this capacity, he has directed his career in such a manner that his field of influence has been greatly broadened. Chief among the means of this expansion of influence has been the Negro Labor News, a semi-weekly, published by him which reaches approximately 3000 persons every two weeks.

Mr. Rice has become noted for his adverse opinion of the official labor movement and for his advocacy of independent unionism for Negroes. His philosophy of labor,



based on the attitudes mentioned above, has become an active force in determining the economic position of Texas Negroes.

This statement is substantiated when one considers the definite opinions concerning the subject possessed by those who have a direct interest in the Negro labor of this state.

The final chapter of this treatise has been devoted to an evaluation of the subject. In it, the writer has presented representative criteria of both intellectual and practical labor authorities for the evaluation of labor leaders. Finally, he has evaluated C. W. Rice as a labor leader on the basis of criteria drawn from the opinions of the opposing schools of labor authorities mentioned above.

## B. Conclusions

As a result of this procedure the writer has arrived at certain definite conclusions.

The first of these is that C. W. Rice has, in the main, done a good job as a practical labor leader. Though he has obtained much financially for himself, he has managed to keep his organization intact, despite serious difficulties such as the long period of business maladjustment (1930-36, 1936-39), and personal unpopularity caused by his independent stand. He has further succeeded in keeping the majority of his workers satisfied and employed and in main-



taining pleasant relations with the majority of employers.<sup>1</sup>

As a man, however, C. W. Rice possesses all the contradictions and inconsistencies of humanity. He is both hot and cold, both conservative and radical. Far from the ideal labor leader, he does possess (as brought out in Chapter VII) qualities such as courage, brains and the ability to get results which are vital to the successful leader of labor.

Finally, the writer believes that the evidence presented in the body of this treatise leads logically to an inference that the career and philosophy of the subject have been valuable to the Negroes of Texas.

While it is quite possible that Rice's viewpoint may be biased and his reasoning fallacious, there is little doubt that the publicity accorded his philosophy will, in the near future, lead to a definite decision by Negro laborers of Texas as to whether they will seek their future in cooperation with white workers or independently.

In either instance, the role of the subject may not be underestimated. Regardless of the outcome, it is the opinion of the writer that C. W. Rice has made a worthwhile contribution to Negro life in Texas.

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<sup>1</sup> In an interview, May 5, 1939, Mr. Rice stated that less than one-seventh of the members of the T. N. B. and W. M. A. are unemployed.



Chapter IX

APPENDICES

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## APPENDIX I:

BEAUMONT CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

Beaumont, Texas

September 3, 1924  
File-C-4-2

To Whom It May Concern:

This is to advise that C. W. Rice, Manager of the Colored Business Men's League of Beaumont, is regarded as efficient in his calling and is held in high esteem by all who know him.

Rice is especially effective in organization work among the colored people of this city and has initiated and pushed to a successful conclusion many helpful community measures. He has worked on behalf of the unemployed; the institution of a Health Clinic; the employment of a full time colored nurse; the employment of a colored Agricultural Agent; and the co-operation in connection with the colored division of the South Texas State Fair are among the noteworthy achievements under his leadership during the past two years.

This organization regards the Colored Business Men's League, under the leadership of C. W. Rice, as a very helpful adjunct in community matters and our past experi-



ence with similar organizations causes us to unhesitatingly place the credit for this success directly to the leadership of Rice and his ability to secure the cooperation of other important colored citizens in his work.

Very truly yours,

E. G. Bracken,  
General Manager

ecb:lk



## APPENDIX II:

CHARTER OF TEXAS NEGRO BUSINESS AND LABORING  
MEN'S ASSOCIATION

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Austin

NO: 43017

THE STATE OF TEXAS )  
COUNTY OF JEFFERSON )

KNOW ALL MEN BY THESE PRESENTS:

That we, C. W. Rice, Clemmon C. Cerf, Levi Hopkins, J. T. Anderson, Sim Seymour, Mrs. Louise K. Miller and M. E. Powell, all citizens of Jefferson County, Texas, under and by virtue of the laws of this State, do hereby form and incorporate ourselves into a voluntary Association under the terms and conditions herein after set out as follows:

1. The name of this corporation is TEXAS NEGRO BUSINESS AND LABORING MEN'S ASSOCIATION.
2. The purpose for which it is formed is the benevolent purpose of promoting the Industrial, Commercial, Financial and Agricultural development of the Negro race; and
  - b. To co-operate with recognized educational agencies and commercial bodies of the Characters of Boards of Trade and Chambers of Commerce with the idea in view of helping to better the health and general living conditions of Negroes in the rural communities and cities of Texas.
3. The place where the business of the corporation



is to be transacted is at Beaumont in Jefferson County, Texas, but which said corporation reserves the right to maintain branches offices and agencies in other cities and towns in the said State of Texas, or of affiliating with and assisting other business, firms, Associations or persons engaged in the same work in the accomplishment of the common object of this corporation.

4. This corporation is to be without any capitalization, and there is to be no issuance of stock and is not for profit, and is to be without personal liability of the incorporators, officers and directors and will depend for its maintenance solely from donations made from time to time by its members.

5. The term for which same is to exist is fifty (50) years.

6. Officers for the first year of its existence are as follows: Clemmon C. Cerf, President; Levi Hopkins, Second Vice-President, C. W. Rice, First Vice President and General Manager, J. T. Anderson, Secretary, Sim Seymour, Treasurer, Mrs. Louise K. Miller, Assistant Secretary, M. E. Powell, Field Secretary.

7. The number of directors, their names and post-office addresses are as follows:

Clemmon C. Cerf, Beaumont, Texas

Levi Hopkins, Beaumont, Texas

C. W. Rice, Beaumont, Texas



J. T. Anderson, Beaumont, Texas

Sim Seymour, Beaumont, Texas

Mrs. Louise K. Miller, Beaumont, Texas

M. E. Powell, Beaumont, Texas

8. Said corporation shall have all of the general powers of a private or benevolent co-operation granted or appertaining to the same which now exist or which may hereafter be granted or extended and among said general powers the following:

A. To maintain and defendan judicial proceedings.

B. To make and use a common seal

C. To purchase, sell, mortgage or otherwise convey such real and personal estate as the purpose of the corporation shall require, and also to take hold and convey such other property real, personal, or mixed, as shall be requisite for such corporation to acquire in order to obtain or secure the payment of any indebtedness or liability due, or belonging to, the corporation.

D. To appoint and remove such subordinate officers and agents as the business in the corporation shall require, and to allow them a suitable compensation.

E. To make by-laws not inconsistent with existing laws for the management of its property, the regulation of its affairs.

F. To enter into any obligation or contract essential to the transaction of its authorized business.



G. To increase or diminish by a vote of its membership, cast as its by-laws may direct, the number of its directors or trustees, to be not less than three nor more than twenty-one.

In testimony whereof we hereunto sign our names  
this \_\_\_\_\_ day of January, A. D. 1925.

Clemon C. Cerf

C. W. Rice

Levi Hopkins

J. T. Anderson  
153 Jackson

Louise K. Miller

Sim Seymour

Augustus T. Patterson

M. E. Powell

THE STATE OF TEXAS    )  
                                  )  
COUNTY OF JEFFERSON    )

Before me, the undersigned authority, on this day personally appeared Clemmon C. Cerf, C. W. Rice, Levi Hopkins, J. T. Anderson, Louise K. Miller, Sim Seymour, Augustus T. Patterson and M. E. Powell, known to me to be the persons whose names are subscribed to the above and foregoing instrument and acknowledged to me that they executed the same for the purpose and consideration therein expressed.



Given under my hand and seal of office at Beaumont,  
Texas, this 22nd Day of January, A. D. 1925.

David E. O'Niel  
Notary Public in and for  
Jefferson County, Texas

ENDORSED: FILED IN THE OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE  
THIS 4 DAY OF FEBRUARY 1925

Emma Grigsby Meharg,  
Secretary of State

Mr. E. B. Rice  
404 Wilcox Street  
Houston, Texas

Dear Mr. Rice:

I have your letter of March 4, 1925, with the check  
enclosed, dated March 30, 1925.

With respect to the case I had to inform you as follows:  
The appeal has been noted, the assignment of errors and  
jurisdiction of record have been answered and filed, and  
the brief given. The statement of witnesses is now being  
prepared and as soon as that is done it will be printed  
by the Court of Appeals and the brief will then be pre-  
pared, printed and filed.

The expenses up to the date have been, travel \$5.00, and  
\$10.00, the writing up of the record by Kate & Alice \$100.00.  
The only expenses connected therewith will be the print-  
ing of the record which will be in the neighborhood of  
\$20.00 or probably more, the printing of the brief will  
amount to \$20.00 or \$25.00, and the transferring of the  
case from the District Court to the Court of Appeals will  
amount to \$15.00 or \$20.00.

Mr. Brown and I feel very confident as to the outcome and  
are very happy that you are also encouraged.

It is also that Houston has been very generous in regard  
to further expenses that the District of Columbia, perhaps



## APPENDIX III

## PARTIAL EXPENDITURES IN RAILROAD

## CASE

## Law Offices

COBB, HOWARD and HAYES

613 F Street, Northwest

Washington, D. C.

March 13, 1939

Mr. C. W. Rice  
419½ Milam Street  
Houston, Texas

Dear Mr. Rice:

I have your letter of March 6, 1939, with the check enclosed, dated March 20, 1939.

With respect to the case I beg to inform you as follows: the Appeal has been noted, the Assignment of Errors and Designation of Record have been approved and filed, and the Bond given. The Statement of Evidence is now being prepared and as soon as that is done it will be printed by the Court of Appeals and the brief will then be prepared, printed and filed.

The expenses up to the date have been, Appeal \$5.00, Bond \$10.00, the writing up of the record by Hart & Dice \$162.00. The other expenses connected therewith will be the printing of the record which will be in the neighborhood of \$200.00 or probably more, the printing of the brief will amount to \$40.00 or \$50.00, and the transferring of the case from the District Court to the Court of Appeals will amount to \$15.00 or \$20.00.

Mr. Hayes and I feel very confident as to the outcome and are very happy that you are also encouraged.

It is fine that Houston has been more generous in regard to Marian Anderson than the District of Columbia. Person-



ally I feel mortified and ashamed as it is a disfigure  
to our civilization.

Remember me to Mrs. Rice as well as to your office force.  
With all good wishes, I am

Very sincerely yours,

James A. Cobb,

JAC/T



## APPENDIX IV

## NEAL HUGHLEY'S OPINION OF C.W. RICE

## ONCE UPON A TIME

By Neal Hughley

In the deep South there lives and labors a rather stout, medium sized, brown-skinned man of middle age who is becoming a symbol of a new Negro leadership. Reference is to C. W. Rice, the militant labor leader who is editor of the Negro Labor News, a weekly published in Houston, Texas. Mr. Rice has been active for several years, seeking to arouse his people to a realization of their fundamental economic needs. His special concern has been the working man's problem. Like a prophet he has continually sounded the trumpet of alarm as he has seen hundreds and thousands of jobs swept from the reach of the black worker. Making himself intimately acquainted with government employment, especially as such employment pertains to the Federal relief program, Rice has sought to point out the Negro's opportunities and dis-advantages under the present national administration.

This labor leader is no mere talker. He is a man of action. Not only has he moved over the country speaking at conferences, schools, churches and labor gatherings, but he has taken the initiative in promoting



valuable projects and movements. He is editor-publisher of one of the very few Negro newspapers taking a special interest in labor and the labor union movement. Through both the editorial and news columns of this Houston weekly Rice has championed the cause of labor.

Greatly disturbed over the continued loss of jobs on American railways, he has organized in Texas a Negro labor union, the Federation of Railway Workers. He is a strong advocate of collective bargaining and rigidly organized effort. In the Negro Press, under date of July 2, last news appeared to the effect that he is carrying on a courageous battle before the courts to prevent the typical legalized, systematic exploitation of Negro workers by the A. F. of L. His own union, mentioned above, is an independent one organized because of the legal barriers set up against Negroes in the constitution and by-laws of the old line A. F. L. unions.

Mr. Rice is, moreover, a realist in dealing with the Negro problem. The average Negro leader is the sheerest sentimentalist in grappling with Southern traditions and Jim Crow conditions. Sometimes we try to solve our problems by running away from them; and while being removed afar off, we shoot our guns. This man knows, however, that the overwhelming majority of his people dwell, and will probably continue to dwell, in the South. He is aware of the necessity of viewing the race situa-



tion here at first hand - which can come only by living under the shadow of these difficulties. He is certain also that no real solution can come to our problem in the northern section of the country, without a settlement of the Southern problem.

Rice is a realist also in his particular conception of the race strategy. Perceiving, for instance, that the white worker as well as the white employer is discriminatory in his attitude toward Negroes, this courageous man does not hesitate to organize Negroes independently. Most of our leaders are still so muddle-headed on race strategy that they do not understand even yet that such a procedure as Rice uses is the only sensible one. When prejudice denied us the privilege of worshiping with our white brethren, we joyfully established our own churches. When public education could not be had along interracial lines, we accepted race schools. When Southern colleges and universities refused to admit us, we set up our own collegiate institutions. When the free use of public parks, playgrounds, hospitals and libraries is not given us, shall we sit by, not receiving these values because the races are not together? If white unions do not admit Negro workers, does that mean that our workers shall remain unorganized? Rice has given us the only sensible answer to this situation.

This does not mean that Mr. Rice accepts Jim Crowism any more than any other Negro - even the most rebellious.



In principle he is just as opposed to discrimination as Walter White. But he knows how complicated and difficult is this race situation in the South. He knows, as every Negro ought to know, that our loftiest dream of equality and fellowship of the races is temporarily frustrated under the exigencies of current social conditions. Many of us are convinced that ultimately there will be in America a complete fusion of the races and nationalities. But this conviction should not blind us the social facts as they are today.

C. W. Rice, therefore, in our judgment is a symbol of a new Negro leadership. Deep in the South there will and must emerge an intelligent aggressive, militant championship of Negro rights, opportunities and possibilities in the world of labor. We must have leaders of the people, by the people, for the people - not simply ambitious individuals seeking to carve for themselves a little niche in the Hall of Fame. That is, we need men who are willing to leave their desks, take off those stiff white collars, knock those pencils from behind the ears, put on a work shirt, and do something serviceable for the masses. In all this Rice is a symbol of what the social situation will finally force us to do, if we would save ourselves.

From THE OKLAHOMA EAGLE

July 9, 1938



## APPENDIX V

## CORRESPONDENCE WITH JOHN L. LEWIS

Prairie View State College  
Hempstead, Texas  
April 24, 1939

Mr. John L. Lewis  
1106 Connecticut Ave. N. W.  
Washington D. C.

Dear Mr. Lewis:

I am a senior in the Division of Economics at Prairie View State College. My thesis is concerned with labor leadership. Naturally a study of this type is impossible unless one first determines the qualities requisite for successful leadership.

Realizing your position as the most important labor leader in the United States, I felt certain that if I could obtain your opinion, I would possess the most practical and at the same time authoritative viewpoint in America.

For this reason, I humbly request your opinion regarding those qualifications which a labor leader must possess in order to be successful.

Yours very truly,

Hobart Taylor Jr.



## CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

1106 Connecticut Avenue, N.W.

Washington, D. C.

April 29, 1939

Mr. Hobart Taylor, Jr.  
Prairie View State College  
Hempstead, Texas

Dear Mr. Taylor:

Your letter to Mr. Lewis has come in his absence from the city on extended negotiations in the coal industry. As Mr. Lewis will be engrossed in these matters indefinitely, I am taking the liberty of replying to you.

I believe that Mr. Lewis would say the qualifications for leadership in the labor movement are much the same as those for leadership in other walks of life. You see, a leader in the labor movement has to gain the support of the members of his union. In addition he must have the ability to deal firmly and fairly with the employers of labor. He must have a grasp of the political problems involved, and be able to act politically on behalf of his members. You can see, therefore, that qualifications for leadership in many aspects of American life. To define them exactly is to risk refutation by the appearance as a leader of labor of someone who does not at all fit the exact definition.

I hope that this will be of use to you in your thesis.

With all good wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Ralph Hetzel, Jr.  
Executive Secretary to the President



## APPENDIX VI

## CORRESPONDENCE WITH C. W. RICE

THE NEGRO LABOR NEWS

4191-2 Milam Street

Houston, Texas

April 1, 1939

Mr. Hobart Taylor Jr.,  
Prairie View College  
Prairie View, Texas

Dear Mr. Taylor:

I have been out of the city is the cause of my delay in answering your letter of March 21. I will send you the data you asked for early next week, maybe by the 5th.

A very interesting article was written in the Oklahoma Eagle, July 9, 1938 on my activities, which just reached my desk yesterday, under caption "Once Upon a Time", by J. Neal Highley, professor of Religion at Langston University and pastor of the Greater First Baptist Church, Okmulgee, Okla. You might write for a copy of the paper, 519 N. Central Street, Okmulgee, Okla.

I think this article will fit very well in your thesis on comments or "Others Opinions" of my work. It will at least serve as a filler.

Very truly yours,

C. W. Rice



Prairie View College  
Prairie View, Texas  
April 28, 1939

Mr. C. W. Rice  
419 $\frac{1}{2}$  Milam  
Houston, Texas

Dear Mr. Rice:

I am very happy to report to you considerable progress on my thesis and to, at the same time, extend my thanks for the invaluable aid that you have given me. There remains, however, one or two matters that need settling. And the first of these is finance. I have no desire to go intimately into the financial affairs of your enterprizes, but there is a certain minimum of knowledge which is absolutely essential to my thesis.

If possible, I would like to know the receipts of your organization for at least a ten year period, the general sources from which they were obtained and the general direction in which they were expended. If this information is available, I would be very grateful if I can acquire it.

We further discussed the treatise of your early life which you showed me upon my first visit. If you remember, you promised to send it to me the first part of this week. As this is also vital to the completion of my study, I would like very much to receive this as soon as possible. In return, I promise to send it back the day after I receive it.

Mr. Warren had seen and approved the outline for my thesis. I think that this is due to the very valuable suggestions which you have made to me regarding form and procedure. Please convey my regards to your wife and to the office force.

Yours very truly,

Hobart Taylor Jr.



TEXAS NEGRO BUSINESS AND LABORING MEN'S  
ASSOCIATION

May 4, 1939

Mr. Hobart Taylor, Jr.  
Prairie View College  
Prairie View, Texas

Dear Mr. Taylor:

In reply to your request concerning material for your thesis, I wish to inform you as follows:

Receipts of the Texas Negro Business & Laboring Men's Association for the past ten years amount to approximately forty thousand (\$40,000) dollars. Source of receipts are from the membership dues and donations made by persons interested in the organization. Membership dues are restricted to colored while most of the donations come from whites. The money received was spent under the following headings:

Overhead Expenses (rentals, gas, telephones, printing, and other items incident to office operation)

Salaries

Publicity

Travel and Research

Contributions to other benevolent movements

The sponsoring of semi-annual Colored Domestic and Industrial Workers' Institutes for the purpose of encouraging workers to become more efficient on their jobs.

Trusting that I have given you the necessary information for the completion of your thesis and with best wishes for your continued success, I am

Very truly yours,

C. W. Rice, President--  
Manager

CWR:g  
encl.



## APPENDIX VII

LIST OF SPONSORS OF COLORED DOMESTIC  
AND INDUSTRIAL WORKERS INSTITUTE

Howard What Not Shop  
 Cragers  
 Sam Cohen  
 Leff Bros, Wholesale Co.  
 Goagna Brothers  
 Houston Trunk Factory  
 Every Ready Service Station  
 Houston Gas and Fuel Co.  
 Houston Lighting and Power Co.  
 Westheimer Furniture Co.  
 James Furniture Co.  
 Star Furniture Co.  
 Holland Furniture Co.  
 National Furniture Co.  
 Milam Furniture Co.  
 Hudson Furniture Co.  
 Troy Furniture Co.  
 C. E. Hill Furniture Co.  
 Herad Brothers Furniture Co.  
 Haverty Furniture Co.  
 White House Dry Goods Co.  
 Foley Brothers Dry Goods Co.  
 Shotwells Clothing Store



Clark and Daniel Co.

Outlet Drug Co.

Solo--Serve Co.

Grayson's Dress Shop

Ann's Hat Shoppe

Nathans Clothing Store

Shudde's Southern Hat Co.

Best Tailors, Inc.

D. Baty Tailor Shop

James Bute Paint Co.

Odin Avenue Hat Shop

Southe Texas Cotton Oil Co.

Merchants and Planters Oil Co.

Health Club Baking Powder Co.

Standard Rice Mills

Red Star Milling Co.

Houston Packing Co.

J. Weingarten's Inc.

Imperial Sugar Co.

Duncan Coffee Co.

Henke and Pillot Co.

7--Up Bottling Works

Fehr Baking Co.

Woffords Syrup Co.

Crawford's Bakery

Borden's Dairy

Kleins Ice Cream Co.

Phenix Dairy

Sidney Meyers Co.

Lever Brothers

Gulf Tex Drug Co.

Phillips Products

Bentler Maid Products



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## CHAPTER X

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